/12 cont'd/
161 lived in Yai-chou. For purposes of clarification we have made the
175 following table:

District	Number of Villages	Number of Villages	Total Population
Tan-chou	10	100	500
Ch'iung-shan Hsien	5	50	250
Kan-en Hsien	50	500	2,500
Yai-chou			

/13/ Thus we can deduce a total population of several thousand. The Miao population in other areas /of Hainan Island/ is not included.
[63] (During the Ch'ing period, Hainan Island was divided into three chou and ten hsien /two types of districts/. Of these, only two hsien, Wen-ch'ang and Hui-t'ung, were purely Chinese.)

[127] The third method is by examination of firsthand reports. According to the numbers furnished by Mr. Wang Fu-shou and Mr. Yang Tsung-yao, there are three Miao t'uan and 25 Miao villages within Pao-t'ing district. If we suppose that each t'uan consists of 30 villages (this is the average number in each t'uan in Pao-t'ing district), there should be 115 Miao villages in Pao-t'ing. If each village consists of ten families, there would be 1,150 families altogether. If each family has five members, the total Miao population in the Pao-t'ing area would be 5,750. If there are the same number of Miao in the other two districts, Lo-tung and Pai-sha, the total Miao population in Hainan at present would be three times the above number, or 17,250. (There is a statement on page 85 of the Hainan Tao Chih /Annals of Hainan Island/, edited by Chen Ming-shu and others:
241 "The Miao people like to live in the mountains. Usually they burn
311 the mountain to clear the land for cultivation; afterward they move away again. It seems that they live in no permanent place. In such places as the vicinity of Feng-hsü t'ung of Tan-chou, Nan-mo t'ung of Lo-hui, the vicinity of Ssu-ho in Ting-an /hsien/, the four villages

/36 cont'd/

476 is always maintained, and mutual assistance is their duty. Some important aspects of this are as follows:

/37/ (a) Mutual assistance in economic life. For instance, if a family in the village has a wedding ceremony or funeral service, the other families usually contribute money and rice to help reduce the burden.

(b) Mutual assistance in labor. If a family in the village needs help for heavy work, the head of the family usually calls on his [443] 276 neighbor for assistance with a little tobacco as a gift. If the neighbor accepts the gift, this indicates that he is willing to offer his assistance. The head of the family usually entertains the neighbor with food and wine after the work is done.

(c) Mutual aid in matters of morale. They usually congratulate one another on festive occasions and comfort one another in grief.

[428] Among the Miao there is no larger unit of social organization than the village. However, between villages there is frequent intercourse and all kinds of mutual assistance. (Owing to their environmental circumstances, the Miao tend to be cooperative and united. For details, see Chapter IX.)

● 631 Since the pao-chia system was established in the Miao area, intervillage relations have been greatly changed. The basic unit is a pao, which is a subdivision of a chia. A chia is a subdivision of a t'uan. A Miao village is either under the administration of a chia or a pao. Relationships between the pao and the chia, the chia and the t'uan apparently have become extensive and complicated.

A detailed description of the pao-chia system in the Li-Miao area appears in my previous study, Report on an Investigation of the Li of Hainan Island.

421 4. The Land System and the Distribution of Wealth

The Miao own very little property. The mountains on which 427 they live are either bought or rented from the Li or from Chinese merchants (the Chinese merchants having purchased them earlier from the Li). The funds to purchase or rent the land are collected from each family in a village, each family contributing an equal

2: Ling & Ruey

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Chart of the position of Table showing the military organization of the Hsien

p. 161	p. 163
p. 162	p. 164

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CHAPTER SIX

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION — MIAO OFFICIALS

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(1) The Establishment of Miao Official Posts

The development of the Miao area began during the time of the juncture of the Yuan dynasty and the Ming. The geographical section of the Ming Shih /History of the Ming Dynasty/ states: "A ch'ang kuan szu /a native leader set up by the Chinese government to head the district/ was established at Wu-chai during the Yuan dynasty, and in the sixth month of the seventh year of Hung Wu /1374, during the first reign period of the Ming dynasty/ the office was continued. A ch'ang kuan szu was set up at Kan-tzu-p'ing in the sixth month of the year chia ch'en of the first Ming emperor /1359/, at the headquarters of the commander-in-chief at Kan-tzu-p'ing. Later it was abolished. In the seventh month of the third year of the Yung Lo /1405/, it was reestablished." Furthermore, the entry for Headman Hu Kuang in the "T'u szu Lieh Chuan" /Biographies of Headmen/ states: "In the third year of Yung Lo, Kung Neng and others at the Ch'en-chou military station summoned Liao Piao and others of the uncivilized Miao /i.e. those not under Chinese control/ from 35 villages of Kan-tzu-p'ing to send sons to pay tribute, and for this reason a ch'ang kuan szu was set up for Kan-tzu-p'ing, with Piao to be the official, under the jurisdiction of Pao-ching." The city of the ch'ang kuan szu of Wu-chai was the present chief city of Feng-huang hsien, but that of Kan-tzu-p'ing was also within Feng-huang, situated 70 li northeast of the chief town of the hsien. In Vol. 3 of the revised edition of Feng-huang T'ing Chih, published in the fourth year of Tao Kuang /1824/, it says: "The old city of the ch'ang kuan szu of Kan-tzu-p'ing was situated 70 li northeast of the T'ing. In the first year of the first Ming emperor /1368/, a yüan-shuai-fu /commander-in-chief's post/ was set up. In the third year of Yung Lo /i.e.

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C 175 631 563 M *175 ●631 *648 C [701]

1405/ it was changed to ch'ang kuan szu, with two city seats, one on the mountain top and another at the foot of the mountain. Today they have been abolished. The old city of the Wu-chai ch'ang kuan szu is the present seat of the T'ing /i.e. Feng-huang sub-prefecture/ administration, but it has been greatly expanded. During the Ming period all was under the jurisdiction of the Pacification Commissioner at Pao-ching."

Kan Ch'eng was opened somewhat later, when at the end of the Hung Wu reign period /1368-98/ a ch'ien hu suo /a ch'ien hu was an official at a military station, in charge of 1,000 soldiers; suo = office or bureau/ was established. The "Shu Wang P'ien" /historical section/ of the Miao Fang Pei Lan states: "In the second month of the thirtieth year of Hung Wu /1397/ there was set up at Chen-ch'i a military and civilian ch'ien hu bureau. Sun Ying-lung, who was then keeper of the records at Lu-ch'i, proclaimed that the tribal people of the upper five tu /hsien subdivisions/ should be divided into ten li /neighborhoods/, to be under the jurisdiction of Ch'en-chou. Ying-lung was promoted by imperial mandate to be in charge of the pacification. He selected the head ch'ien hu in charge of the ch'ien hu bureau at Chien-ch'ang, Kiangsi, to go to the capital to be given a bronze seal and given the hereditary office of ch'ien hu of Chen-ch'i. When the emperor went to the pavilion to send him on his way, he proclaimed: 'I have a single pellet of Miao territory, and I ask you to go ahead to open up headquarters for bringing the barbarians under our administration. Do what is good for them, and your descendants will enjoy the use /of the office/ without limit.' Moreover, he ordered the Board of War to select Ch'en Ya of Wu-sa military station in Kweichow and Sung Kuei of Lu-chou military station in Szechwan to be assistant ch'ien hu to go with him to assist him. He ordered the Board of Civil Office to select a head constable, and the provincial treasurer to allot for district police officers, who were granted, wrapped up an ivory tablet, paper money, and a silver belt, and entertained ceremoniously, and sent on their way. In the fifth

2:Ling & Ruey--150 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5
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C /104 cont./
175 month Tuan Wen reached Chen-ch'i, established the Military
631 Station Office, and inaugurated the system, dividing 124 native
563 villages into ten li, making Yang Erh, the main leader, a
M pe fu ch'ang /head of hundred men/. The other 132 villages
*175 /105/ became a local army 'to protect the city moats.' When
•631 there were uprisings then they would be called to service; when
*648 conditions were peaceful then they would disperse as civilians.
C Hence the name, Military and Civilian Office" Chen-ch'i then
[701] is modern Suo-li, which is 20 li northeast of Kan-ch'eng hsien's main city.

Yung-sui was formerly under the jurisdiction of the native headman of Pao-ching, and Liu-li in it was also under the jurisdiction of Kan-chou. In the seventh year of Yung Cheng /1729/, the provincial governor Chao Hung-en and Wang Jou of Ch'en-yüan-ching tao pacified the uncivilized Miao at Liu-li and established a city at Chi-to-p'ing, called Yung-sui. (1)

1. Feng-huang T'ing Chih,
Vol. 1.

C Ku-chang /hsien/ in the Ming period was the territory
[701] under the control of the three senior officials at Shin-tung-ch'i, Pe-ya-tung, and T'ien-chia-tung, under the jurisdiction of the military and civilian pacification commissioner's office at Yung-sui.

Pao-ching was formerly the territory under the control of the Pao-ching pacification commissioner.

M After the five hsien in the Miao frontier region were
[634] opened, from the Yuan and Ming dynasties to the beginning of the Ch'ing dynasty, they were under the control of native headmen. During the K'ang Hsi reign period of the early Ch'ing /1662-1722/, a gradual change was begun from native headmen to regular government officials. In the forty-sixth year of K'ang Hsi /1707/, the senior official /ch'ang kuan szu/ at Wu-chai, T'ien Hung-t'ien, being harsh and cruel, the provincial governor, Chao Shen-ch'iao, sent up a memorial

2:Ling & Ruey--151 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5
Central China AF14

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to the Emperor requesting that he be dismissed from office and that no hereditary substitute be allowed. (2) In the forty-eighth

2. Feng-huang T'ing Chih,
Vol. 11.

year /1709/, because the Miao at Liu-li of the Chen-ch'i Office did not wish to be under the control of the native headman at Pao-ching, they repeatedly requested the change from native headman to government official, and the provincial governor, Chao Shen-ch'iao, again sent up a memorial requesting transference of control to the government. (3) In the fourth

3. Miao Fang Pei Lan,
Vol. 15.

year of Yung Cheng /1726/, the headman at Pao-ching, P'eng Yü-pin, was removed from office for being avaricious and cruel, and in the fifth year the change was made from native headman to government official. Yü-pin was peacefully settled at Liao-yang. (4) In the fifth year of Yung Cheng, the headman

4. Pao-ching Hsien Chih,
Vol. 5.

at Yung-shun, P'eng Chao-huai, personally applied for the change from native headman to government official. He returned to his native place in Chi-shui, Kiangsi. (5) San-t'u-

5. Yung-shun Hsien Chih,
Vol. 15.

chou /"three local chou"/ and Wu-ch'ang-kuan-szu /"five senior officials"/ under the jurisdiction of the headman of Yung-shun were also changed from native to government officials.

2:Ling & Ruey--152 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5
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C 175 631 563 M * 175 ● 631 * 648 622 C [669] After the voluntary change from the native headmen in the Miao frontier region, in each Miao village there was set up a local village chief over 100 families /i.e., a pe hu chai ch'ang, "100 families village chief"/, in order to govern the Miao and bring them under the administration of government officials. But the chiefs of the 100 families were not always Miao, sometimes Chinese being appointed to these positions. As time passed, gradually, there were rapacious, unscrupulous rogues, whose mistreatment caused disturbances, so that the unprecedented Miao rebellion took place during the sixtieth year of Ch'ien Lung /1795/. When the Miao rebellion was put down in the first year of Chia Ch'ing /1796/, it was found that the policy of governing the Miao with Chinese was wrong. The then governor-general of Hunan and Kwangtung, Pi Yüan, submitted a plan to govern the Miao with Miao. (6) The ministry's

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6. See Pi Yüan: "Tsou Wu Chi Kan-chou Yung-pao Miao Jen Su /A Memorial Sent to the Throne Concerning the Bringing of the Miao People Together in Peace/" in Miao Fang-Pei Lan, Vol. 19, "I Wen Chih /Literary Archives/."

response to the memorial setting up regulations for Miao officials, Miao Chiang Chin-/106/ Yao Shan-Hou Shih I /Important Remedial Measures for the Miao Frontier Region/, has a passage, "Miao Chiang Pe Hu Chai Ch'ang Ming-Mu Ying Cho Liang Keng Ting /The Names of the Village Leaders of 100 Families Should be Decided after Due Deliberation/," stating: "According to the memorial, in the three provinces of Szechwan, Kweichow, and Hupeh, such areas as Yu-yang and T'ung-jen were all previously governed by headmen, but following their application to be put under government officials, the administrative areas of chou, hsien, and ying

/106 cont./

C 175 631 563 M *175 ● 631 *648 622 were established, subject to the jurisdiction of civil and military authorities. In the Miao villages, there were established only village chiefs to govern a unit of 100 families. However, since Chinese were also permitted to fill these posts, gradually there were rapacious, unscrupulous rogues, whose mistreatment caused disturbances. It is requested that from among the Miao who have submitted, and on whom were conferred the peacock feather decoration /for merit, in early Ch'ing times/, there be selected some intelligent, aware persons, to be appointed at each ying /military station/ as native second captain /shou-pei/, lieutenant /ch'ien-tsung/, and sergeant or corporal /wai-wei/, such positions to be filled through the governor-general and governor's /tu-wu/ yamen /tu-wu ya-men/ and to be subject to the control of the civil and military authorities. When the various t'ang hsin in the Miao area have official despatches to send, they can order the said native petty officers to select Miao to question and send, and also to give them some cash and rations. When officials traveling on official business require servants, they may also recruit them from the Miao, and pay them wages according to the Chinese scales.

C 175 631 563 M *175 631 *648 622 It would appear that the 100-families village chief was originally inaugurated to discipline the Miao, but these men were unimportant and their powers limited, as that the Miao did not heed them. Moreover, among the Chinese holding such positions there were rapacious, unscrupulous rogues, whose mistreatment led to disturbances. This should naturally be explained, deliberated, and changed, so as to fix responsibility. During the recent campaign those submissive Miao who accompanied the army and won peacock feather awards are numerous, therefore from these select those who are intelligent and aware, and who have the support of the rest, and according to the customary set-up of t'u-kuan /officials governing aboriginal tribes in West China/, every Ying should have one or two men to be native second captains, under whom there should be native lieutenants and sergeants, for better control of

/106 cont./
the Miao. Their number will depend upon the number of villages put under control, and they shall be appointed by the governor-general and governor's yamen and also be under the control of regional officials. If there are fights, robberies and thefts among the Miao these native officers will be asked to make the arrests. On their inspection tours, the governor-general and governor and military officials should examine the merits and demerits of these officers and reward or punish them accordingly to demonstrate justice, following the recommendations memorialized by Governor-general Ho Lin. When the t'ang-hsin system of communication in the Miao area has been abolished, official communications should be despatched according to old methods so as to avoid delay. In the regions where the t'ang-hsin system exists as before, the local officials /t'u kuan/ should be asked to pick out honest Miao to be given the responsibility of delivering messages after being questioned, to be paid wages and rations from unallotted funds, according to the scale for t'un soldiers. When officials traveling on official business need servants, then order the said Miao to serve, and pay them wages according to recommendations memorialized." (1)

1. See "I Wen Chih" in Miao Fang Pei Lan, Vol. 19.

According to the despatch quoted above the Miao officials, although they were military officers such as the native shou-pei and ch'ien-tsung, aside from their jurisdiction over the Miao soldiers, were also given considerable authority in Miao civilian affairs. In the tenth year of Chia Ch'ing /1805/ /107/ the t'un land within the Miao area were placed under the control of Miao officials. Article 8 of Pu Fu T'un t'ien Chang-ch'eng /The Ministry's Reply concerning Regulations about the T'un Land/ states: "It would seem that after the Miao rebels were pacified in the present year in the various localities of Yung-sui,

/107 cont./

C 175 631 563 M *M5 ●631 *648 425 e M [701] C [651] the Miao were greatly impressed by the strength of the Imperial army and surrendered land previously forcefully occupied by them. Also it would seem that if there was property of refractory Miao; it was confiscated. The fields were distributed among the law-abiding Miao to plant and pay rent, so that a Miao army could be raised and supported. Now the usurped land surrendered in the various villages totals more than 30,100 mu, and the land confiscated from the property of the rebel Miao totals more than 5,040 mu. These are now being separately registered, distributed for tilling for rent, and the revenues derived therefrom should be able to support 5,000 Miao soldiers. Among the 9,900 native Miao soldiers discharged over time and remaining, those able to bring up a plan to make a living have been sent back to their villages, and those who are old, weak, and poor have been given fields to till. Now 5,000 strong and healthy Miao soldiers have been selected, 2,000 of whom come from Feng-huang sub-prefecture; 800, from Kan-chou sub-prefecture; 1,800 from Yung-sui sub-prefecture; 100, from Ku-chang-p'ing sub-prefecture; and 300, from Pao-ching hsien. To collect the grain given over as rent, the Miao petty officers have selected in the various villages spots for building granaries to store away the public grain. Two or three honest Miao officers are chosen for each granary to supervise receipts and disbursements of the grain. The said 35,000 mu of arable land is estimated to be capable of yielding more than 22,000 shih of seeds of grain. It is estimated that there remain in various Miao granaries about 40 shih of seeds of grain, which will be used to fill the need for rations for the Miao soldiers in the intercalary month. The Miao officers are still ordered to report the actual receipts of rent grain every year." (1)

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1. "Chün T'un" in Hunan Miao Fang T'un Ch'eng Kao /Study of the Administration of the Defense T'un of the Miao Area in Hunan/, Vol. 5, pp. 56-57.

M [113]

2:Ling & Ruey--156 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5
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/107 cont./

Miao Area in Hunan/,
Vol. 5, pp. 56-57.

Thus a Miao official was a military official having concurrent judicial and financial duties, whose power actually was equivalent to that of a t'u-szu /headman/. The only difference was that the position was not hereditary. As for the procedure of appointment, according to a reply from the Board of War in the twenty-eighth year of Tao Kuang /1848/, Miao Pei P'ieh Chi Ta /?/ Chang-ch'eng /Regulations concerning the Commissioning of Petty Officers of Miao Defense/, it is stated: "The 486 Miao officers in the five sub-prefectures and hsien of Ku-chang-p'ing, consisting of shou-pei, ch'ien-tsung, pa-tsung, and wai-wei, were recommended by the sub-prefectures and hsien to Ch'en-yüan tao for approval, and then commissioned with official seals by the governor-general, governor, and provincial commander-in-chief. According to the regulations for the promotion of Miao t'un officers, a pa-tsung is considered by the tao and then appointed by the Board; the wai-wei is appointed directly by the tao, and when the pa-tsung becomes due for promotion to ch'ien-tsung, his commission must be confirmed by the governor-general and governor, and when the ch'ien-tsung is promoted to shou-pei, his record must be examined by the commander-in-chief. Today, in the appointment of Miao petty officers, even wai-wei have to be commissioned by the governor-general and governor, hence there is a great deal of red tape involved. It is recommended that the Miao defense petty officers can be selected according to the regulations governing the t'un petty officers of the tao troops /piao, "banner"/. Hereafter the Miao wai-wei and pa-tsung are to be changed to be appointed by the tao, the Miao ch'ien-tsung to be appointed by the provincial governor with official seal, and the shou-pei to be appointed by the governor-general. The Board of War has found that the previous procedure of appointing Miao officials, through joint deliberation of the provincial governor-general, governor, and commander-in-chief is /108/ too involved,

C /108 cont./
175 and in order to simplify it the recommendations in the memorial
631 of the said governor-general should be followed." From this it
563 may be seen that in the beginning, the appointment of a Miao
701 official was regarded as a serious matter. A petty officer such
M as a wai wei had to be commissioned by the governor-general
*175 and governor.

● 631 (2) The Organization of Miao Officials
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622 With regard to the organization of Miao officials at that
701 time, it differed somewhat in the five hsien and sub-prefectures of the Miao region. Feng-huang sub-prefecture had four ying /battalions/: the middle ying's two Miao shou-pei /second captains/, four ch'ien-tsung /lieutenants/, six pa-tsung /sergeants/, and 20 wai wei /corporals/ were in charge of 96
M villagers, totaling 2,680 families, consisting of 6,230 men
[162] and 3,479 women. The left ying's two Miao shou-pei, three ch'ien-tsung, six pa-tsung, and 15 wai wei are in charge of 63 villages, totaling 2,387 families, consisting of 5,795 men and 4,673 women. The right ying's four Miao shou-pei, seven ch'ien-tsung, 13 pa-tsung, and eleven wai-wei were in charge of 179 villages, totaling 4,191 families, comprising 9,710 men and 6,090 women. The front ying's three shou-pei, six ch'ien-tsung, 12 pa-tsung, and 14 wai wei were in charge of 191 villages, totaling 3,985 families, comprising 8,466 men and 5,162 women. The above eleven shou-pei, 20 ch'ien-
M tsung, 37 pa-tsung, and 60 wai wei, totaling 128 Miao petty
[162] officers, were in charge of 529 villages, 13,243 families with 30,201 men and 19,404 women, a total population of 49,605. From the various families 2,000 Miao soldiers were chosen, 400 of them being soldiers receiving rations. (1)

1. Feng-huang T'ing Chih, Vol. 11.

M Kan-ch'eng was also divided into four ying — the middle,
[162] left, right, and front yings. The middle ying's one Miao

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C 175 631 563 701 M *175 631 *648 622 701 162 shou-pei, two ch'ien-tsung, three pa-tsung, and six wai-wei were in charge of 15 villages, with 425 families, comprising 981 men and women. The left ying's one Miao shou-pei, two ch'ien-tsung, four pa-tsung, and eight wai-wei were in charge of 86 villages, totaling 1,784 families with 5,992 men and women. The right ying's one Miao shou-pei, one ch'ien-tsung, four pa-tsung, and five wai-wei were in charge of 18 villages, with 701 families, comprising 1,095 men and women. The front ying's one Miao shou-pei, one ch'ien-tsung, two pa-tsung, /109/ and six wai-wei administered eleven villages, consisting of 430 families, with 993 men and women. The above four Miao shou-pei, six ch'ien-tsung, 13 pa-tsung, and 25 wai-wei, totaling 48 Miao petty officers, controlled 130 villages, 3,340 families with 7,061 men and women. Moreover, 800 Miao soldiers were recruited from the various families. (1)

1. Kan-chou T'ing Chih, Vol. 7.

In the organization at Yung-sui, they were known as li, not ying. The whole region was divided into 12 li, each li having one shou-pei. The Upper Fifth Li had one Miao shou-pei, one ch'ien-tsung, two pa-tsung, three wai-wei, 15 fighting soldiers /chan ping/, and 85 guard soldiers /shou ping/, controlling 840 families, with 4,192 men and women. The Lower Fifth Li had one Miao shou-pei, one ch'ien-tsung, two pa-tsung, six wai-wei, 15 fighting soldiers, and 129 guard soldiers, over 448 families with 1,440 men and women. The Upper Sixth Li had one Miao shou-pei, three ch'ien-tsung, four pa-tsung, nine wai-wei, 22 fighting soldiers, and 129 guard soldiers, over 992 families with 4,101 men and women. The Lower Sixth Li had one Miao shou-pei, two ch'ien-tsung, seven pa-tsung, nine wai-wei, 29 fighting soldiers, and 129 guard soldiers, in control of 1,307 families with 6,386 men and women. The Upper Seventh Li had one Miao shou-pei,

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three ch'ien-tsung, six pa-tsung, eight wai-wei, 61 fighting soldiers, and a guard force of 154, controlling an area of 726 families with 2,767 men and women. The Lower Seventh Li had one Miao shou-pei, three ch'ien-tsung, six pa-tsung, 12 wai-wei, 48 fighting soldiers, and a guard force of 133 men, governing 1,109 families with 4,313 men and women. The Upper Eighth Li had one Miao shou-pei, one ch'ien-tsung, no pa-tsung, four wai-wei, nine fighting soldiers, and 61 guard soldiers, governing 302 families with 1,298 men and women. The Lower Eighth Li had one Miao shou-pei, two ch'ien-tsung, five pa-tsung, seven wai-wei, 48 fighting men, and a guard force of 135 men, controlling 595 families with 1,650 men and women. The Upper Ninth Li /110/ had one Miao shou-pei, three ch'ien-tsung, eight pa-tsung, 14 wai-wei, 32 fighting men, and a guard force of 138 men, governing 2,337 families with 3,413 men and women. The Lower Ninth Li had one Miao shou-pei, three ch'ien-tsung, six pa-tsung, 14 wai-wei, 32 fighting men, and a guard force of 138 men, governing 1,480 families with 7,264 men and women. The Upper Tenth Li had one Miao shou-pei, three ch'ien-tsung, eight pa-tsung, 21 wai-wei, 19 fighting men, and a guard force of 131 men, governing 1,128 families with 4,529 men and women. The Lower Tenth Li had one Miao shou-pei, three ch'ien-tsung, five pa-tsung, ten wai-wei, 18 fighting soldiers, and a guard force of 82 men, governing 843 families with 3,600 men and women. The above 12 Miao shou-pei, 28 ch'ien-tsung, 57 pa-tsung, and 115 wai-wei were set up in the second year of Chia Ch'ing /1797/ when the 100-family system was abolished. These lower officials went back and forth, controlling the scattered Miao in the various li. The guard force of 1,800 men was set up in the tenth year /1805/ and its men were retained from the Miao soldiers of the disbanded t'u t'ang /?/. The 384 fighting men were appointed in 1805 and picked from among the guard soldiers. (1)

1. Yung-sui T'ing Chih, Vols. 6 and 15.

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C 175 631 563 701 M *175 ●631 *648 622 701 [162]

The fourth, sixth, seventh, and eighth tu /subdivision of a hsien/ in Pao-ching each had a Miao shou-pei, nine ch'ien-tsung, 12 pa-tsung, 31 wai-wei, and 300 Miao soldiers. (2)

2. Pao-ching Hsien Chih, Vol. 5.

The Miao officials appointed at Ku-chang-p'ing included one shou-pei, two ch'ien-tsung, four pa-tsung, 12 wai-wei, and 100 Miao soldiers, controlling 58 Miao villages. (3)

3. Ku-chang-p'ing T'ing Chih, Vol. 2.

Regulations concerning Miao officials were set up in the second year of Chia Ch'ing (1797), and were still in existence when the authors were carrying out their investigations in the Miao area in 1933. The four yings — front, left, right, and middle — at Feng-huang have been made into eleven yings due to the presence of eleven shou-pei. The subdivisions of Pao-ching formerly called tu are now called ch'ü, but the structure remains the same.

C 631 563 701 [169] M 701 631 *648 622

Since the Miao rebellion during the Ch'ien Lung reign period /1736-95/, the authorities have prohibited Chinese from entering Miao country. Furthermore, since the Miao dreaded seeing Chinese officials, then the Miao shou-pei, ch'ien-tsung, pa-tsung, and wai-wei were set up with the responsibility of controlling the Miao. In cases when the Miao were involved in such affairs as fights or theft, these petty officers were charged with the responsibility of apprehending the offenders. For the official despatches to be sent it was necessary to rely on them to get the messengers, and the pressing for rents and grain were also under the Miao officials' control. Moreover, the Miao petty officials were asked to submit seasonal affidavits as to whether there were Chinese entering the Miao villages.

[Text continues on p 165]

The following table shows the results of our investigations: /111/

Hsien	Ying	Name of Native Head	Guard Station
Feng-huang	Upper Middle Ying	Lung Fu-shou	Mao-tu-t'ang
	Lower Middle Ying	Wu Tsung-ch'ing	Hsin-tung-p'ing
	Upper Left Ying	Wu Fang-ming	Pao-mu-ying
	Lower Left Ying	Wu Hsiu-ch'ing	San-kung-ch'iao
	Right Ying	Lung En-te	Ya-pao-chai
	Upper Right Ying	Lung Feng-wu	Lung-chüeh-tung
	Right Ying	Wu Shao-hai	Chuang-chi-chai
	Lower Right Ying	Lung Tsung-chieh	Ta-t'ien
	Upper Front Ying	Shih Chao-pin	Hsin-chai
	Middle Front Ying	Wu Ch'ing-te	T'ien-p'ing
	Lower Front Ying	Wu Cheng-ying	Ku-sang-ying
Total		11	
Kan-ch'eng	Middle Ying	Wu Chia-chu	San-ch'a-p'ing
	Left Ying	Yang Sheng-pao	Ch'ü-chia-chai
	Right Ying	Shih Yung-chi	Hsi-ch'üeh-chai
	Front Ying	Yang Tsai-chen	Meng /?/ Ch'e
Total		4	

/Upper left quarter/

2:Ling & Ruey--161 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5
Central China AF14
CM 631 622 701

CM 631 622 701

/111 cont./

Central China AF14

/Lower left quarter/

Ku-chang	Lung-pi-tsui Ying /Dragon Snout Ying/	Lung Ch'ing-nung	Nung-pi-tsui
Total		1	
Pao-ching	Fourth Ch'ü	Wu Chung-ch'ing	Pe-ho-t'ien
	Sixth Ch'ü	Hung Yung-liang	Hu-lu-chai
	Seventh Ch'ü	Shih Ch'ing-sung	Pi-tzu-chai
	Eighth Ch'ü	Liang Kuang-yung	Shui-t'ien
Total		4	
/112/ Yung-sui	Upper Fifth Li	Lung Sheng-hsin	Tung-k'a-chai
	Lower Fifth Li	Shih Wei-hsin	Ch'ien-ch'ang-chai
	Upper Sixth Li	Shih Ming-yüan	Pan-li-chai
	Lower Sixth Li	Shih Tsung-huang	Chia-ming-chai
	Upper Seventh Li	Lung Ch'ang-yao	Chien-yen-chai
	Lower Seventh Li	Wu Ting-k'uei	La-wu-chai
	Upper Eighth Li	Wu Ch'eng-chang	Ta-pai-wu
	Lower Eighth Li	Lung Kuo-han	Ya-pao-chai
	Upper Ninth Li	Ma Ch'ang-shan	Pai-ta-k'ou
	Lower Ninth Li	Shih Tuan-ch'u	Wei-ch'eng-chai
	Upper Tenth Li	Shih Chin-yüan	Pai-pu-mei
	Lower Tenth	Wang Kuo-ch'ang	Pai-liao-chai
Total		12	
Grand Total		32	

CM 631 622 701

/112 cont./

Central China AF14

/Upper right quarter/

Number of Petty Officers and Soldiers					Total Numbers		
Ch'en-tsung	Pa-tsung	Wai-wei	Fighting Soldiers	Guard Soldiers	Petty Officers	Soldiers	Total Ying Complement
2	4	8	30	150	14	180	194
2	3	9	30	140	14	170	184
2	4	6	30	190	12	220	232
1	3	8	80	200	12	280	292
2	5	9	55	152	16	207	223
2	2	6	54	114	10	168	178
2	4	6	43	136	12	179	191
1	2	4	58	91	7	149	156
2	5	10	17	182	17	199	216
1	3	5	2	65	9	67	76
3	5	9	1	180	17	181	198
20	40	80	400	1,600	140	2,000	2,140
2	2	6	48	157	10	205	215
2	7	10	40	191	19	231	250
2	4	3	40	154	9	194	203
		6	32	138	6	170	176
6	13	25	160	640	44	800	844

CM
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701

/112 cont./

Central China AF14

/Lower right quarter/

2	4	12		100	18	100	118
2	4	12		100	18	100	118
1	1	2	8	42	4	50	54
3	5	9	19	61	17	80	97
3	4	15	21	79	22	100	122
2	2	5	12	58	9	70	79
9	12	31	60	240	52	300	352
1	3	3	14	81	7	95	102
1	3	6	14	81	9	95	104
3	4	9	28	162	16	190	206
2	7	9	54	121	18	175	193
3	4	8	56	168	15	224	239
3	6	12	66	176	21	242	263
1		4	9	68	5	77	82
2	4	7	38	91	13	129	142
3	8	12	36	142	23	178	201
3	6	14	30	142	23	172	195
3	8	21	17	139	32	156	188
3	5	10	18	49	18	67	85
28	57	115	380	1,420	200	1,800	2,000
65	126	263	1,000	4,000	454	5,000	5,454

2:Ling & Ruey--165 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5
Central China AF14

/112 cont./

C 631 563 701 M 631 622 *648 701 [177] The policy of having Miao officials to govern the Miao has been in practice now for 140 years. At the time of the original separation of the execution and administrative functions between the Chinese and the Miao, the idea of Miao regulating the Miao could be said to have been aimed at the abuses of the time. But now after a hundred and some tens of years, the Miao have gradually been sinicized. Formerly, there was the difference between the civilized and uncivilized Miao, but today they have all become civilized. The policy of separate administration for the Miao and the Chinese has been informally discarded. Consequently, the regulations for Miao officials should be abolished. But, since the Republic, the Miao officials are still able to exist, largely because Chinese officials have been profiting by taking bribes for filling official posts. On the other hand, since the Miao officials get their positions through paying bribes, they go to great lengths to make extortions from the Miao people. The Miao people detest the Miao petty officials more than they do the Chinese officials. Moreover, today, the various hsien in the Miao area have been changed to the system of hsiang /villages/ and chen /towns/, each governed by a head, known as hsiang chang or chen chang, respectively. In view of this change, Miao officials have become superfluous. It is hoped that the authorities in the region will be able to do away with them soon.

/113/

CHAPTER SEVEN

C 175 563 669 M *175 *648 C [712]

T'UN FIELDS

(1) Successive Changes in T'un Defense

Trouble with the Miao in western Hunan began in the Ming dynasty. But because of using an administrative policy of blockade against Miao country, the 270 years under the Ming

C /114 cont./

175 563 669 [901] [712] During the Ts'ung Cheng reign period /1628/ /the end of the Ming dynasty/, the Miao rebelled, demolishing the guard stations and leveling the border wall. The "Great Wall" to blockade Miao country disappeared. The 7,800 guard troops /shou ping/ in the Miao area of the Ming dynasty were reduced to 1,600 men at the beginning of the Ch'ing dynasty. When

M * 175 * 648 the rebellion of Wu San-kwei was pacified and all was peaceful again, there was another reduction of 500 men, leaving 1,100 men. Military strengh was slight and the defense system was relaxed. Further, following the change from native headmen to Chinese officials, and the use of Chinese as the head

C [631] of every hundred families, intercourse between the Chinese and the Miao was no longer prohibited. In the twenty-ninth

M [177] year of Ch'ien Lung /i.e. 1764/, in view of the Miao having undergone acculturation for a long time, they were allowed to intermarry with the Chinese. The original idea was to change the Miao by teaching, but with the passing of time evils developed, when rapacious Chinese under the pretext of trade entered the Miao area and seduced crafty Miao to enter into thievery. Unlike soldiers they entered Miao country for personal reasons and mistreated the Miao. The Miao made a pretext of these guest men's exploitations and encroachments on their land and banded together to make trouble, and brought about the great rebellion during the Ch'ien Lung /1736-95/ and Chia Ch'ing /1796-1820/ reign periods. After the rebellion was put down, the Manchu court realized that the time was yet inopportune to change the Miao by teaching, and the blockade policy was once more used. The various hsiens along the Miao border were heavily garrisoned for protection.

C 175 563 701 M 701 Cheng-kan-chen /Chen-kan Brigade/ was set up at Fenghuang, headed by a brigade general /tsung ping kuan/, controlling four ying /battalions/ —middle, right, front, and left, with three majors, one captain /tu-szu/, four second captains /shou-pei/, eight lieutenants /ch'ien-tsung/, 19 sergeants /pa-tsung/, 23 corporals /wai-wei/, 14 supernumeraries /e-wai/, and a total of 3,389 soldiers.

10: Graham E-5 (1921-?) 1954 AE5 Miao AE5

846 While the couvade is found among the Hua Miao neighbors
837 4 to the south,

evidence of this practice has yet been found among the Ch'uan Miao. The Ch'uan Miao, however, have a very strange custom: Certain female relatives of the man are his "guest-wives," and certain male relatives of a woman are her "guest-husbands." Without marriage they are allowed to practice sexual relations, and it is not regarded as wrong. In recent years, owing to Christian influence, there have been endeavors to discontinue this practice.

631 622 The Ch'uan Miao are not a tribe with a political organization that includes the whole group. There are no tribal rulers, but they have local headmen, called *gū leo* or "old clubs," who sometimes cooperate for the common good. These people are an ethnic group bound together by common language, ideals, and customs and by a strong sense of unity. They are very sociable and mutually helpful.

SOCIAL LIFE AND CEREMONIES

517 Practically the only amusements of Ch'uan Miao women and girls are visiting, attending feasts, marriages, funerals, and other ceremonies, listening to people singing songs and watching the men dance and play the *liu sheng*, going to market, making love, and gossiping. They are supposed to use their spare time for sewing and making hemp thread and yarn and embroideries.

526 536 273 276 Among the more popular amusements of men and boys are hunting, kicking the shuttlecock, and playing "snake protecting her eggs," blindman's buff, sham battle, or dogs chasing wild animals. During the New Year holidays and at weddings "playing lion" is a popular amusement. Both men and women smoke tobacco and drink wine. While the Miao have no theatricals, they often join the throngs and look at Chinese plays being performed in temples or in the open in Chinese towns and cities.

533 Like the other Miao groups in China, the Ch'uan Miao are lovers of music. Except the singing and the responses of go-betweens while making engagements, in contests between men and women, and in the newly established schools and chapels, there is no group singing. There is a kind of band music, but usually all the instruments play the same tune in unison. Generally the *liu sheng* is played by one man who dances, and vocalists sing one at a time while all listen with rapt attention. This singing of stories and songs is one of the principal amusements of the Ch'uan Miao.

The singing may be by either a man or a woman, generally of middle age or older. Nearly all the stories and myths and bits of history of the group have been made into songs and as such are handed down from generation to generation, taught by one singer to another. Some of the singers know only a few songs, but 212 there are some who know and can sing several hundred. It should be emphasized that the Ch'uan Miao have no written language or literature.

584 There is a great deal of love-making among the Ch'uan Miao, who have their share of pretty girls. Marriage is through go-betweens, and the arrangements are made between the older members of the two families, the bride and the groom often not even being consulted. There is a gift from the parents of the groom to those of the bride, and the value of the gift often determines whether the engagement is made.

2: Wiens G-4 (no date) 1954 AF17 South China AF17
Miao AES

S 174 175 M 174 175

age of the Five Streams. Later they gradually filtered into Kuei-chou territory.

In A.D. 47 when the Wu Ling Man ravaged the southern administrative regions of the Han Empire, the Emperor sent General Liu Shang, who drafted soldiers at Wu Ling and Ch'ang-sha, embarked them in boats and sailed up the Yuan River to the Five Streams to suppress the Miao. This followed the migration route of the Miao. We have noted in Chapter I that several of the Yuan River tributaries are navigable to small boats into Kuei-chou territory. The resulting Han-Chinese pressure in this direction forced the further steady southwestward migration of the Miao that resulted in their post-Han Dynasty distribution.

After the A.D. 47 suppression, the Miao fleeing southward were further subjected to the suppression campaigns of Ma Yuan. Far from eradicating all traces of the Miao in the T'ung-t'ing region, however, the Han-Chinese in the post-Han Dynasty period saw the continued eastward migration of the Miao from Ssu-ch'uan. These tribes occupied the hill fastnesses along the north bank of the Yang-tzu from Ch'ung-ch'ing to the north shore of T'ung-t'ing Lake. This steady eastward infiltration swelled the Miao strength to the extent that enabled the Ching-hsiang Man (Hsu referred to a Ching-Man whom he erroneously claimed were T'ai people)[59] to surge northward in an invasion wave during the Six Dynasties period (5th and 6th Centuries). This eastward movement itself was the result of other pressures exerted upon the Miao peoples. In fact, the large [63] number of Miao who today continue to be found in the Five Streams region have caused the Communist regime to constitute part of the area the West Hu-nan Miao Autonomous Region (See Map 31).

As the Later Han Dynasty drew to a close, invading nomads from the north were steadily encroaching deeper southward into China Proper. The Three Kingdoms Period following the Han marked an era of great population intermixtures in North China which we shall discuss in the next chapter. During the same period that the northern Tatars were descending south upon China in great masses, the southern Miao were also opportunely blossoming into a period of greatness and prosperity. They seized the opportunity presented by the turmoil in the North China area to advance northward and harass the Han-Chinese from the south.

During the four centuries between the fall of the Han

2: Wiens G-4 (no date) 1954 AF17 South China AF 17
Miao AE5

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Ling-nan in Kuang-tung and Kuang-hsi. By T'ang times, the Miao had reached as far south as Ts'un-yi in Kuei-chou, but it is not clear whether they were spread all over Kuei-chou during T'ang and Sung times. It seems unlikely that they had, because the Lolo tribesmen were in occupation of large parts of southern and western Kuei-chou.

The history of the Lolo in the Ch'ien Shu or History of Kuei-chou states that the An Clan of Lolo in the Ta-ting area was in occupation there as early as the Three Kingdoms period (3rd and 4th centuries). The chief of the clan was "enfeoffed" as King of Lo-tien State. (Actually, enfeoffment merely meant the confirmation of the de facto position the tribal chieftain already held). This was conferred by Chu-ko Liang of the Ssu-ch'uan Han Dynasty (A.D. 221-265). The An Clan chief's hereditary succession was confirmed by the T'ang and Sung Dynasties as a matter of expediency. This was not changed by succeeding Han-Chinese dynasties. Kublai Khan gave the An Clan chief the title An-fu-ssu, later changed to the higher Hsuan-wei-ssu plus the added designation Marquis of Lo-tien. The Ming Emperor made him Hsuan-wei-ssu of Kuei-chou. From all this, it would appear that the incoming Miao migrants did not reach this far west. The Miao probably traveled up the three rivers Yuan, Ch'en and Yu from Hu-nan, making the upper reaches their base area. In northern Kuei-chou the Miao eventually reached the Districts of Ts'un-yi and Tzu-t'ung. In southern Kuei-chou they reached An-shun and Tz'u-yün Districts.[63]

There are not many Miao people in Kuang-tung and Kuang-hsi, and their history here is comparatively short. They probably came first to northern Kuang-hsi during the Yüan Dynasty, said Hsu Sung-shih.[64] Because of the frequent military operations of the Yuan and Ming against them, the Miao of Kuei-chou began to migrate out of the Kuei-chou province.[65] When Kublai Khan conquered the Kuei-chou territory, it was organized as Shun-yuan Lu (Shun-yuan Province). The Yuan Shu (History of the Yuan) tells of the suppression of the T'ung-Miao-Man. There is a so-called "Long-Bridge tomb plaque of the 300 Chung (Red Yao tribe) nobles" in Lung-sheng District of northern Kuang-hsi. This states that the ancestors of these nobles were Ching-chou (southwest Hu-nan) Miao, and that they had come into Kuang-hsi only since the Yuan Dynasty. However, the Miao have come across the southern ranges into Ling-nan in large numbers only since the Ming Dynasty.

[631]

In 1381 the first Ming Emperor appointed Marquis Yi

[162 cont.]

534 They construct a musical instrument of an entirely special model called "sen," a sort of "pipe of Pan," formed of a tube which swells out very much in its lower portion. Into this swollen section are fitted six or eight reed pipes of varying lengths, pierced with holes and set at right angles to the large tube. The player obtains continuous sounds by successive aspirations and expirations. The scale is rather extended, as it provides from twelve to sixteen notes and numerous cords. The player of the "sen" dances while playing. (See photo 155, Plate 10.) The "sen" of the "Méo" very much re- [171] sembles the Laotian "ken."

The "Méo" also make tambourines, copper cymbals, a sort of [237] bagpipe with a nasal sound, produced by a goatskin sack of voluminous dimensions, and a small guitar with a long neck, made from a turtle's shell covered with a tightly stretched snake's skin.

631 In the area which gave them birth, the "Méo" were, without 648 doubt, formed into groupings placed under the orders of chiefs of their race and preserving a certain independence in relation to the neighboring Chinese authorities. In the matter of the tribes who have immigrated into Tonkin, they have had to place themselves little by little under the authority of local native functionaries and of the commandants of sectors, spheres, and provinces.

In accordance with the importance of their groupings, these tribes are organized into communes (region of Dong-Van) placed under the authority of a "toung-tcha" (corresponding to "ly-truong Thai") in direct contact with the chiefs of canton ("quan-châu") or with the commandants of sectors. These communes are subdivided into quarters commanded by a "ping-t'éou" who has under his orders a certain number of "siao-phay," the latter having, in general, authority over the groups of hamlets or villages built in the same valley or on the same slope of a mountain chain. [163] In the regions where the "Méo" population is too scattered to form a distinct commune, the "Méo" have only some "siao-phay" and sometimes a "ping-t'éou" placed administratively under the authority of the "pho-ly" or of the "ly-truong" of the "Thai" race.

[163 cont.]

186 631 648 It is fitting, however, to point out the repugnance with which the "Méo" accept being subordinated to "Thai" chiefs, even though this subordination is of the lightest kind and applies only to rare acts of ordinary living: the payment of taxes, the furnishing of labor details, and so on. In this repugnance must be seen only a manifestation of the spirit of independence with which the "Méo" are so deeply imbued.

631 648 In other communes, by contrast (Pha-Long, and so on), the "ly-truong" are of the "Méo" race and they hold the administrative authority over "Thai" and "Man" groupings settled upon the territory of these communes.

175 There is not now in Tonkin a "Méo" chief above the rank of "ly-truong." However, legend preserves the memory of a personage by the name of Sioung, calling himself the "King of the Méo," who established himself in the region of Yen Minh about the year 1860, an epoch corresponding to the second violent invasion of the "Méo," spoken of at the beginning of this chapter.

This King Sioung showed himself to be most bloodthirsty in the war he carried on for some ten years against the "Thai" of the regions of Quan-Ba, Yen-Minh, and Dongvan, and was killed by myrmidons in the pay of his father-in-law (1).

1. Also it is fitting to indicate a movement of insurrection fomented in 1911 among the "Méo" of Dong Quong by a chief who took the name of Sioung. This revolt was quickly suppressed. During the war of 1914-1918, an uprising of the "Méo" of Upper Laos caused the dispatch of an expeditionary column, which re-established order.

631 649 There still exists in our time, in the Chinese region contiguous to the Thanthuy sector, a personage improperly called "King of the Méo," who is none other than a "Méo" chief invested by the Chinese

[163 cont.]

631 government with the functions of an administrator, with the title
648 of "t'ou-sseu" (administrator of barbarian country). This personage has retained a certain moral influence over the neighboring Tonkinese regions but naturally has no administrative authority over these populations.

The "Méo" settled in Tonkin are subject to Annamese law and amenable to the various native and European courts. Most of their
[627] differences are adjusted on the spot, according to the special customs of each tribe. When there is truly no means of settling the affair, the case is brought before higher jurisdiction.

[164] The "Méo" greatly dread the European courts, not so
147 much because of the severity of their sentences, but because these
648 courts most frequently sit in the towns situated at low altitude, where the "Méo" are unable to live. It has quite frequently happened to us to have to judge certain "Méo," the importance of whose crimes exceeded our competence. Upon the announcement of their being sent before the court of the resident of Laokay (altitude: 90 meters) the defendants threw themselves at our feet, saying: "Kill me at once, for if you send me to Laokay, I am sure to die there."

The "Méo" family is not united by as strong ties as the fami-
593 lies of the other groups. Here again is found another manifestation
866 of the spirit of independence of the "Méo," who accept no constraint, even that of the paternal authority when it becomes too annoying. Boys and girls are raised at random, without control and without advice, obeying freely the dictates of their will and their instincts. They part company with their family when it pleases them. However, one son always remains in the paternal household to keep up the cultivation of the fields belonging to the family.

769 Ancestral worship, which constitutes elsewhere so strong a family tie, is observed by the "Méo" in the most summary fashion.

Upon the death of the father, it is the mother who remains head
768 of the family and proprietress of the various belongings, real and personal. When the mother dies in her turn, the personal property
[428] (money, utensils, animals, crops) are divided among the male children. The eldest son or that one of the sons who remains settled in the paternal home becomes head of the family and cultivates the

855 hard toil of the fields. Too thinly clad and fed almost exclusively
857 on maize, they remain exposed to the inclemencies of the seasons, all day long, and spend the night in a house open to every wind. This produces selection proceeding from the disappearance of the weak, but those who resist such a regimen are then able to withstand any sort of hardship.

/Between pages 136 and 137 of the text, the two following photographs appear: "White Meo women"; "Embroidered Meo women."--translator/

591 /137/ When young men of the family marry, if there are sufficient fields to cultivate around the family house, they bring their wife there and live under the authority of the father of the family. If this is not the case, they go and establish themselves in the midst of an area needing to be cleared, and undertake the task courageously.

548 The chastity of Meo women does not seem to be as unassail-
836 able as that of Tho women, and some of them shamelessly engage in prostitution, and do not have to leave their place in the family on this account. When on an inspection tour in Dongvan, I remember that I expressed my astonishment at hearing hands clap each time I passed through certain woods, which surrounded a pagoda near the post. But my astonishment gave place to stupefaction when I learned that the sacred wood was permanently haunted by young Meo girls who accorded their favors to all who came beneath its discreet shade.

[624 The number of houses which make up a hamlet rarely exceeds
361] three or four. Even then the inhabitants usually are of the same stock,
● 631 and the head of the hamlet is naturally enough the progenitor of the
615 family group. The various hamlets of a small valley or of a little rocky cirque are grouped under the authority of a ma phai, who is properly speaking the chief of the village. Several villages are grouped under the authority of a ping tau, who fills the role of a giap truong or district chief in an Annamese commune, and who is himself assisted in his duties by a tsa thao. Finally, the different districts are joined together to form a tribe under the orders of a tung cha who fills the role of the mayor of a Tho commune, with a still greater
631 authority. This is the type of organization which exists in Dong Quan
609 and surrounding country, when the tribe is of a certain extent. If
563 it is less important, it is headed only by a ping tau or a simple ma phai, who is under the authority of the mayor of the Tho commune

631 on which the territory occupied by the tribe is dependant. It might
609 even happen that a simple Meo hamlet was overwhelmed in the midst
563 of a population of the Tho, Nung, or Man race. The inhabitants then naturally become pariahs, who suffer from the oppression because of the mass which surrounds them, and are very much more miserable than in the midst of a tribe of their race.

631 /138/ To the south of the Red River, at Tu Le for example, the
615 terms used to designate Meo chiefs are slightly different: the ma phai is replaced by the seo phai who sometimes has an assistant, seo phao. The tung cha becomes sung quan, but his assistant is called tsa thao, as above. Finally, in the rather large settlement of Phu Yen on the Black River, the chief of the great tribe bears the title hong ly.

Several of these titles refer to military functions, which tends to prove that in certain of their migrations the Meo must have organized themselves along military lines by force of arms. Ma phai means "he who keeps account of the horses"; ping tau, "troop commander"; and tung cha, "at the side of the chief of the canton."

Section 6

Economic State--Agriculture, Industry, Commerce

241 Thanks to his energy and diligence in working, the Meo
311 succeeds in improving and in drawing the maximum returns from a region where there are more rocks than arable land. It is indeed a curious sight to see him lead his ox and plough across a veritable chaos of black rocks which sometimes leave only a meagre square meter of land between them. At each step the plough turns up a bit of rock, which the tireless ploughman goes without delay and carries to the nearest heap of stones.

The principal crop is maize with which the Meo covers every bit of tillable land, the flanks of mountains and the bottoms of cirques or, at least, the thousand little pockets of humus which lie in the
241 spaces between the rocks. Seeds sown in April can be harvested in August. The Meo does not fertilize the soil all over. He is satisfied to spread a handful of manure at the precise spot where he plants his three grains of maize. Between the period of sowing and of harvest, the ground is cultivated three or four times, at first with a spade when the plant is scarcely out of the ground, then with the plough when it is larger. At harvest time maize is carried in /139/ pack-baskets and arranged in piles in the granaries, or hung in bunches of seven or

AKha A04
Miao AE5

/Between pp. 34 and 35/

Translation	[illegible]	ĂKHĂ
61. Son of daughter		
62. Daughter of daughter		
63. Father of wife		
64. Mother of wife		
65. Brother of wife a)		
66. Brother of wife b)		
67. Sister of wife a)		
68. Sister of wife b)		
69. Husband of wife's sister a)		
70. Husband of wife's sister b)		
71. Father of husband		
72. Mother of husband		
73. Brother of husband a)	no expression, is usually only called by name	
74. Brother of husband b)		
75. Sister of husband a)		
76. Sister of husband b)		
77. Husband of the bus. sis. a)		
78. Husband of the bus. sis. b)		
79. Family		
80. Large family /extended fam./		
81. Small fam. /nuclear fam./		
82. Member of the tribe		
83. Outsider		
84. Old Man		every old person is called grand-father or grand-mother.
85. Old Woman		
86. Chief		
87. Great chief		
88. Village chief		
89. Deputy chief		
90. Friend		
91 Enemy		
92. European	(white)	

/For explanation of a) and b), see footnotes on first page of table./

A M 601

A M 192

M [631]

39: Bernatzik--64 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
AKha A04
Miao AES

/37 cont./

A M 571 114 Witek (1). Aside from the fact that it is on the whole

1. Page 156.

problematical to use the concept "original culture" in connection with a people living today, it is especially inappropriate in the case of a people with such a highly developed and complicated social and political organization as the Meau. It also seems to me that the remark by Seidenfaden (2), that the Meau

M [171]

2. Page 167.

follow the Chinese and the Han with regard to a good way of life and the organization of the family, is correct only if qualified.

/38/ Chapter 6

Political Organization

a) Organization of the Greater Community

M ● 631 From the historical traditions of the Meau (cf. the chapter, "History") it is shown without any doubt that they formerly had a tightly organized kingship. Even today major political units are said to exist in the lands neighboring Thailand. Concerning the French territories, Lajonquière reports (1): "In

Page 320.

M [148] regions where Meau groups have congregated, they are subdivided into tribes which, freeing themselves from the mediation of the communal chiefs of the Tho (Thai), negotiate directly with the quanchau or chiefs of the sectors. In general they form aggregates and live independent of the communities of those peoples on whose land they dwell. These aggregates

/38 cont./

● 631 consist only of people of their race or sometimes embrace small groups of ethnically similar elements, who are under the rule of a chief chosen by them."

"In the region of Hang-Giang the various hamlets of a valley are under the jurisdiction of a ma-phai or ho-thau. Several villages are under the jurisdiction of a ping-tao... His title is translated as 'chief of the canton.' These cantons, finally, are united under a toung-tscha... This is the organization existing in the lands where the tribes were able to expand and to form compact settlement groups. If settlements are of lesser importance, only a ping-tao stands over them. If, [648] finally, the settlement /39/ is even weaker, it is under an ordinary ma-phai who receives his orders from the lytru'o'ng of the 'Tho.'"

Abadie (1) deals more briefly with this organization, and

1. Page 162.

Savina (2) reports: "The Meau like to group themselves in

2. II, p. 187.

tribes, and the inhabitants of one village usually belong to a single tribe. It even happens frequently that persons of the same tribe occupy whole mountains. In this case they all obey the chief of the tribe to which they belong."

In China, too, larger communities are supposed to exist, as Abadie (3) reports: "Even today in the Chinese region

3. Page 163.

[648] bordering on the Than-Thuy sector there exists a person who is incorrectly called 'King of the Meau' and who is nothing but a chief of the Meau who was appointed by the Chinese administration with the title of a 'Tou-sseu,' that is, 'administrator in the country of the barbarians.' This person has

Miao AES
AKha A04

/39 cont./

M 631 [648] retained a certain moral influence upon the neighboring Tonkinese regions, but, of course, exercises no executive authority at all over these peoples."

The situation is different in Thailand where the Meau immigrated in small groups and were often able to remain completely independent, like most of the other mountain tribes. Seidenfaden (4) also mentions this more or less in-

4. II, p. 102.

dependent community of such peoples. Under these circumstances in Thailand today there are no political units larger than the village, over which there is the village chief. In M [648] the administered parts of the country, he has to be approved by the district officer. Moreover, the villages of the Meau consist of only a few houses, whereas in former times their village unit, too, was powerful.

A 621 Among the Akha in Thailand the custom of having great village settlements with one hundred to two hundred houses has been maintained (cf. the chapter, "Statistical and Demographic Data and Differences between the Various A [631] Meau and Akha Tribes"). A larger political unit does not exist.

/40/ b) Kingship and Chieftainship

M 643 [631] The memory of times when there was a much larger political unit has been kept alive to this day among the Meau. Thus, tradition tells of a powerful kingdom of the Meau, an hereditary kingship, in which the king was at the same time the supreme war-lord.

After the death of a king, the entire people, that is, all the mature men able to bear arms, selected the successor from among the sons of the deceased. It did not make any difference to which of the generally numerous wives of the king this son was born.